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ABSTRACT

Interrelationships between Mexican Americans living in the United States and natives living in Mexico are explored in this paper. It is intended as a resource to help teachers understand the complex processes and factors which contribute to the identity of Mexican Americans. One obvious relationship, or linkage, arises from the shared political boundary between the two countries. Immediate proximity has promoted easy physical migration and cultural and commercial interchange across the border. There is an historical linkage, exemplified by the Texas annexation of 1845, in which northern Mexico became the southwestern United States. Direct linkages exist in the form of immigration and widespread use of Spanish among Mexican-descent people in the United States. Indirect linkages arise from the Mexican American emphasis on maintaining family traditions and living near the extended family. Other indirect linkages are fostered through Mexican-American organizations and media such as television programs and newspapers which serve the Chicano community. Although linkages must be viewed as constantly changing as time, location, and population characteristics change, it can be useful to study and understand them. For example, the American educational system needs to understand more clearly the factors comprising the background, identity, and problems of Mexican Americans. Study of transnational linkages can help to promote greater intergroup awareness. (AV)

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# MEXICO IN THE STUDY OF MEXICAN AMERICANS:

# AN ANALYSIS OF TRANSNATIONAL LINKAGES

Ethnic Heritage Studies Project

1976

A Monograph

prepared by

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Transnational linkages with Mexico have played, do play, and will continue to play a major part in the experience of persons of Mexican descent in the United States. So intrinsic and vital are these linkages to the past, present, and future of Mexican Americans that I would assert that in the case of no other United States ethnic group do transnational linkages have as significant and continuing an impact. In making this assertion, I am not engaging in a game of ethnic one-upmanship, but simply am establishing a working hypothesis which I feel is supported by both historical and contemporary evidence.

Before continuing with the discussion of transnational linkages, we must take a slight detour into the maze of group nomenclature and confront a problem for which there is no precise or universally acceptable resolution. The dilemma is a compound of two separate but interlocking questions. First, about whom are we talking? Second, how do we refer to them? Let us look at the second question first.

What term should be used to describe that group commonly referred to as Mexican Americans? I say commonly, not universally, because even among Americans of Mexican descent there is no totally accepted label of self-identification. Terms like Hispano and Spanish American reign supreme in such areas as northern New Mexico and southern Colorado, while Latin American is widely used in many areas of Texas. Mexican and Mexicano are popular in many border areas and in communities with significant numbers of recent Mexican immigrants. Some persons prefer to be known as Mexican Americans or as Americans of Mexican descent, while there is a rapidly growing acceptance of the use of the term Chicano to apply to all members of the group, rather than as a political label for those active in the Chicano Movement.[1] Without claiming my approach to be the "right one," I will adopt the usage of the terms Chicano and Mexican American as interchangeable and inclusive of all members of the group. This terminological "solution" is currently widespread among scholars.

But that said, we must address the first question--about whom are we talking? The complicating issue is that of Mexican immigrants--at what point does a Mexican immigrant become a Mexican American?

At first glance the easy answer would seem to be to use legal citizenship as the decisive factor. However, upon a more careful inspection, this single determinant becomes as distorting and unreal in function as it appears clean and precise in application. Many Mexican immigrants have lived in the United States for decades without obtaining U.S. citizenship. Yet, except for voting they have become functional parts of U.S. society. They have worked, contributed to the economy through labor, investments, and commerce, attended schools, been active in organizations, and participated in other processes of U.S. society. It would seem spuriously legalistic to use citizenship as the single measure of whether or not a person of

Mexican descent is functionally Mexican American. Therefore, this discussion of Mexican Americans will apply to those persons of Mexican descent who have been continuously functioning parts of U.S. society, citizenship notwithstanding.

Furthermore, there are increasing numbers of Mexican Americans who are challenging the division of persons of Mexican descent into categories of Mexican Americans and Mexicans, claiming this to be an artificial dichotomy. Those espousing this position assert that U.S. citizens of Mexican descent, Mexican immigrants, and both documented and undocumented workers from Mexico compose a single group--Mexicans in the United States. While this position is certainly debatable, it is clear that in terms of the analysis of transnational linkages, at times it makes more sense to discuss implications for all Mexican-descent people in the U.S. rather than just Mexican Americans per se. Therefore, when appropriate, I will use the term Mexican-descent people in the United States in its broadest and most inclusive sense.

## Chicano Transnational Linkages

With these terminological "clarifications" behind us, I will return to the central topic--transnational linkages. To the degree that transnational linkages have had a general effect on the experiences of most ethnic groups in the United States, the Chicano experience is part and parcel of the larger linkage process. Some of the generalizations about transnational linkages as a whole apply to Mexican Americans; some aspects of transnational linkages found in the experiences of other ethnic groups have similarities in the Chicano experience; some of the transnational characteristics of the Chicano experience likewise find reverberations within other ethnic group experiences.

However, despite participating in the general phenomenon of transnational linkages and despite having some similarities with other ethnic groups' experiences in transnational terms, the Chicano experience clearly has a uniqueness based on the singular characteristics of its transnational linkages. Among the characteristics that give the Chicano transnational experience its uniqueness are:

(1) the physical proximity of the root culture (Mexico) to the ethnic group (Mexican Americans), including a common political boundary between the root culture nation (Mexico) and the ethnic group nation (United States)--a characteristic shared only with Canada and Canadian Americans and a characteristic which differentiates Mexican Americans from trans-oceanic ethnic groups and other Latin American ethnic groups.

(2) a linguistic difference between the principal language of the root culture (Spanish) and the dominant language of the United States (English)--a factor which differentiates Mexican Americans from English-speaking Canadians, although not from predominantly French-speaking Canadians.

(3) a racial difference (actual or perceived) between the predominantly mestizo/Indian societal composition of Mexico and the dominant "white race" of the United States--a factor which further differentiates Mexican Americans from most Canadians and European-origin ethnic groups.

(4) the fact that a significant geographical portion of the United States previously belonged to Mexico, that it once had an independent Mexican society and culture, and that it became part of the United States through conquest--that Mexican Americans are, in part, a conquered ethnic group, which differentiates them from "immigrant-origin" ethnic groups, be they "voluntary immigrants" (such as European immigrants) or "involuntary immigrants" (such as African slaves).

(5) the fact that, in addition to being conquered, Mexican Americans are also partially an immigrant ethnic group, with immigration occurring continuously, although not uniformly or in constant degree, since the 1846 U.S. conquest of northern Mexico--a factor which differentiates Mexican Americans from the other major conquered U.S. ethnic group, Native Americans.

Due principally to these factors, the Chicano experience and the nature and intensity of transnational linkages for Mexican Americans have developed and continue to function in a powerful and unique fashion. In the following pages, I will explore the nature of these linkages and their implications for self-understanding, intergroup understanding, and public and private policy in the United States.

This will be neither an historical nor a sociological study of Mexican Americans. It will not provide a catalogue of names, dates, places, events, and other facts and data. Space is far too limited for such a presentation, nor is there any value to summarizing (and inevitably distorting by oversimplification) the many extensive studies which have already been written on Mexican Americans. Those wishing to explore further the general subject of Mexican Americans should consult the brief introductory bibliography on Mexican Americans at the end of this paper.

Rather, my goal is to suggest a framework for understanding the transnational linkages of Mexican Americans, while indicating the essentials and complexities of the topic. The paper will deal with this subject in five stages, as follows:

(1) setting in space (geographical perspective);
(2) setting in time (historical perspective);
(3) types of linkages;
(4) variations of linkages;
(5) implications of linkages.

## Setting in Space

Mexico and the United States share a common political boundary. This statement is so obvious, simplistic, and oft-stated that it might seem

unnecessary to repeat it here. Unfortunately, despite this apparent obviousness, it is necessary to restate this fact because, in much social science literature on intergroup relations and ethnic groups, this reality is either ignored or given insufficient analytical consideration. Efforts to create broad theories and models of ethnic groups, particularly immigrant groups, have resulted in distorting generalizations about the relationships of ethnic groups and their root cultures. This has occurred because these theories and models are usually based on a trans-oceanic (generally white ethnic-European nation) model of ethnic heritage.

While some generalizations about the transnational linkages between white ethnic groups and their root cultures may apply to some degree to Mexican Americans, including the critical topics of group generational differences and the process of "Americanization" (whatever that may mean), many other generalizations will not be applicable precisely because a trans-oceanic model of transnational linkages cannot be applied in toto to a root culture with a common boundary. Therefore, in seeking to understand transnational linkages as they apply to Mexican Americans, we must keep the obvious but penetratingly significant fact of common land boundary constantly in the analytical forefront. When attempting to apply any generalization or hypothesis of transnational linkages to Mexican Americans or when attempting to compare transnational linkages of various ethnic groups, we must continuously ask--how is this generalization, hypothesis, or comparison affected by the common land boundary of Mexico and the United States? Following are a few examples of how this geographical factor has given a unique stamp to the transnational linkages between Mexico and Mexican Americans:

(1) ease of physical migration between root culture nation and the United States;
(2) ease of cultural interchange between root culture nation and the United States--for example, transnational radio and television reception, with resulting cultural reinforcement;
(3) ease of transnational commercial interchange--for example, crossing the border to shop;
(4) ease of transnational familial relations--for example, continuity of face-to-face family relations despite living in two countries;
(5) ease of transnational labor interchange--for example, border industrialization, migrant labor, and undocumented workers (illegal immigrants);
(6) ease of linguistic continuity--for example, continuous reinforcement of Spanish in the United States due to the intensity of transnational linkages and the constancy of transnational migration in both directions;
(7) propensity for border problems--for example, cattle rustling, border skirmishes (particularly on the Texas-Mexico border), and the Chamizal boundary dispute.

The foregoing are only indicative of the natural and inevitable uniqueness and intensity of Mexico/Mexican-American transnational linkages resulting from the common land boundary. As mentioned earlier, this geographical factor should be applied constantly in analyzing, studying, and teaching about the Chicano experience.

But what about other geographically proximate root cultures, such as Cuba, Jamaica, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Guatemala, and Puerto Rico (the latter is a root culture, although not a foreign nation)? And what about the other nation which shares a common political land boundary with the United States--Canada? How does geography affect the linkages between ethnic groups of these origins and their root cultures?

The more geographically proximate that two nations are, the more likely, although not inevitably, their interrelationship, with varying impacts on the ethnic group which stems from the root culture. However, geographical proximity as a factor is modified by the type of proximity (land, sea, or air) and ease of transportation and communications which can transform miles into functional distance. In this respect, the multiple transportation options--land, sea, and air--between the United States and Mexico are as significant as distance alone.

And what about Canada, the only other nation which shares with Mexico the characteristic of having a common land boundary with the United States? Some of the special aspects of Mexico/Mexican American linkages may be paralleled in the Canada/Canadian American linkages. However, there are some salient differences.

For example, Canada and the United States share the same (or at least similar) language, while Mexico and the United States do not. The fact that Canada is officially bilingual and the existence of French-speaking, German-speaking, and other linguistic minorities in Canada increase the complexity of Canadian/Canadian American linkages. However, this does not shatter the basic linguistic contrast with Mexico. Moreover, even the non-English-speaking linguistic minorities of Canada are essentially Caucasian, while Mexicans are a multiracial, mestizo minority (and in the eyes of many Anglo-Americans, a different "race," a perception expressed throughout U.S. history).[2] This "racial" contrast alters the nature of transnational linkages because of the resulting stereotypes, prejudices, and racially-based discrimination.

What has been the nature of Canada and Mexico as sources of labor for the United States? What kinds of border conflicts and misunderstandings have the two nations had with the United States due to their common land border? What have been the socio-economic characteristics of immigrants from Mexico and Canada into the United States? What are the historical and contemporary patterns of transnational migration between the two root cultures and the United States? These questions are suggestive of significant modifications which must be applied to generalizations which arise from the existence of common land boundaries.

## Setting in Time

Along with their unique setting in space, Mexican Americans also have a unique setting in time vis-a-vis their Mexican national roots and their United States experience. This historical dimension is a necessary component for any valid understanding of contemporary and future Mexican-American

transnational linkages. The most significant aspect of this dimension is that, unlike other ethnic groups, Mexican Americans are both a conquered and an immigrant ethnic group. The implications of this fact for transnational linkages are critical.

The United States Southwest, as we know it today, came into existence from 1845 to 1854 as the result of three major historical events--(1) the annexation of the Lone Star Republic to the United States as the state of Texas in December, 1845; (2) the conquest and annexation by treaty of most of the rest of that area, including all or part of the current states of New Mexico, California, Arizona, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, and Wyoming; and (3) the 1854 Gadsden Purchase of the rest of current southern Arizona and New Mexico.

Prior to the seventeenth century, that area was dominated by a myriad of Indian (Native American) nations, each with its unique culture and society. Throughout the sixteenth century, various expeditions from central New Spain (the Spanish kingdom from which the nation of Mexico would emerge in 1821) penetrated this area. They made contact with some of the Indian nations and developed geographical knowledge as the basis for future settlement. This settlement began at the end of the sixteenth century. New Mexico became the first target for this new colonization, followed by Arizona, Texas, and California.

The colonization process was carried out under the auspices of the Spanish crown and the viceroy of New Spain. However, the participants were of varied background--Spanish peninsular, creole, Indian, Black, mestizo, mulato, and zambo. Moreover, the very nature of New Spain's culture and society was constantly changing or, better, undergoing a constant process of "Mexicanization"--the continuous dialectical interplay among imported Spanish culture, local Indian cultures, and emerging Mexican culture.

Therefore, while it is politically correct to label this new colonization of northern New Spain as Spanish, in a societal and cultural sense it was truly Mexican--the colonization of the area by persons who were products of this new, syncretic, principally Indo-Hispanic (and to some extent African) Mexican culture. This is a critical concept for understanding the establishment and continuity of Mexican transnational linkages. Therefore, although the political entity of that era was the Kingdom of New Spain and although some of the institutions that were transported north were basically Spanish (such as the Church and the governmental system), the essence of this northern colonization effort was Mexican--socially, culturally, economically, and biologically.

Clearly it is inaccurate to describe this northern settlement as purely Spanish (or even worse and more Anglo-ethnocentric, to use the popular label, the Spanish Southwest, when in fact this area would not become the Southwest until 1846). But it is equally fallacious to conceive of this process as the establishment of Hispano-Mexican society in a geographical vacuum. Rather, from the beginning of this northern migration, the new colonists established a series of continuous relationships

with various Indian civilizations. Often this meant conflict and rejection, often it meant conquest and subjugation, often it meant socio-cultural dialectical interplay. The variables in this process were many--the natures of the geographical environments, the natures of the various Indian civilizations, the natures of the Mexican settlements, and the historical moment of these settlements (for as time passed, it was from a historically different New Spain that succeeding colonization efforts emerged).

These variables become even more significant in light of the fact that interprovincial communications among settlements in California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas were very weak. For the most part these colonies developed in relative isolation, with only irregular communications with central New Spain (and later central Mexico) and almost no contact with each other. They were more like a series of Mexican islands dispersed in a vast land sea, restricted in their expansion both by the immensity of their geographical surroundings and by the constant threat, and often the reality, of Indian opposition. In a sense, then, even while under the political aegis of Spain until 1821, northern New Spain was a series of unique, individual Mexican civilizations, whose linkages with each other were nearly nonexistent and whose linkages with central New Spain were important, but inconsistent and tenuous.[3]

In 1821, Mexico gained its independence from Spain. The major effect on northern Mexico was the weakening of central government attempts at restricting its options. One of the major changes in these restrictions was the opening of northern Mexico to trade with foreign nations, particularly the United States. Anglo-Americans developed an intensive transnational trade with northern Mexico via the Santa Fe Trail into New Mexico and clipper ships around Cape Horn to California. Perched at the corner of intersecting trade and communications routes--from central Mexico to the south and from the expanding United States to the east--northern Mexico became a fulcrum of international linkages, cultural interplay, and, ultimately, international conflict.

Trade with the United States began the process of economic detachment of northern Mexico from central Mexico. This process of "peaceful conquest" continued with the migration and settlement of Anglo-Americans in northern Mexico. They came in small numbers to New Mexico and California, where they remained a numerical minority, and in extensive numbers to Texas, where they soon outnumbered Indo-Hispanic Mexicans by a six-to-one ratio. The final steps of conquest, however, came with violence--the Texas Revolution of 1835-1836, leading to the independence of the Lone Star Republic and its ultimate annexation into the United States, and the U.S. military invasion of 1846, resulting in the amputation of northern Mexico, some one-third of that nation's territory, through the U.S.-Mexican War.[4]

Thus, in a process begun with trade and migration, completed with violence, the 80,000 Mexicans living in northern Mexico became involuntarily annexed into the United States.[5] With this territory and people came a heritage, institutions, societies, cultures, practices, norms, values, and the many other elements which went into the formation and preservation of northern Mexican civilization. And with this conquest, these conquered people began the process of transnational linkages with their

former homeland, Mexico.

Before putting finis to this story of historical transition, a mention should be made of the final bows and ribbons of international legalities. After invading and capturing Mexico City, the United States extracted from Mexico the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The treaty certified the military land grab, provided for financial "compensation" from the United States to Mexico, and guaranteed the rights of Mexicans in the conquered territory. However, shortly following the finalization of the treaty, the United States, much to its chagrin, came to the realization that the new boundaries excluded a vital piece of real estate--the Mesilla Valley (of today's southern Arizona and New Mexico), a choice route for the southern part of the U.S. transcontinental railway system. So it was back to the bargaining table, with the expenditure of more millions of dollars to a financially-pressured Mexican president. Another small chunk of northern Mexico (and with it another small component of Mexican people) passed into U.S. hands in 1854 through the Gadsden Purchase.

These events, then, from the Texas annexation of 1845 through the Gadsden Purchase of 1854, marked the decade of progressive transformation of northern Mexico into the southwestern United States and northern Mexicans into Mexican Americans. This was also the crucible era for the commencement of transnational linkages between Mexico and Mexican America.

Before inspecting these linkages, we need to consider a few qualifications. Transnational linkages are, by definition, linkages between a culture of origin (foreign nation or area) and an ethnic community in another nation. In this case, the linkage is between Mexico and Mexican Americans. However, what is this Mexico and who are these Mexican Americans about whom we are speaking?

Neither all Mexicans nor all Mexican Americans are alike. There are variations of region, class, caste, religion, culture, education, politics, economics, and a multitude of other factors among both Mexicans and Mexican Americans. Similarly, neither the United States nor Anglo-Americans are monolithic. Moreover, time itself must be considered, as linkages also vary over time. The kinds and impact of linkages of 1876 will of necessity be to some degree different from those of 1976. In short, the nature of these Mexican/Mexican American transnational linkages will vary on the basis of Mexican variables, Mexican-American variables, and host country (United States) variables, all considered as dynamic over time.

However, despite the foregoing qualifications, it is clear that there have been significant unifying historical experiences and cultural patterns of Mexicans and Mexican Americans. Both experiences and cultures contain commonalities--cementing threads which provide the essence of Mexico as a nation and Mexican Americans as an ethnic group. Moreover, as shall be indicated throughout this study, there are also continuing, unifying commonalities in the transnational linkages which have maintained the intrinsically close relationship between Mexico and Mexican Americans. Yet, while focusing on these commonalities, we must avoid viewing either Mexico or Mexican America as uniform, static, or frozen. Rather, Mexico, Mexican America,

and the linkages between the two must be viewed as diverse, dynamic, and continuously changing, while at the same time preserving their underlying commonalities.

Direct Linkages

The geographical proximity of Mexico combined with the heavy concentration of Mexican Americans in the southwest gives primacy for Chicanos of direct linkages--physical connections with the country/culture of origin--relative to the importance of direct transnational linkages for other U.S. ethnic groups (see Diagram A). Mexicans and Mexican Americans have constantly crossed and recrossed the U.S.-Mexican border. The two-directional human movement has been of many types--Mexicans immigrating to the U.S., Mexicans coming to live and work in the U.S. and later returning to Mexico to live, Mexicans living in Mexico and commuting to the U.S. to work, and Mexicans and Chicanos crossing the border to shop, to visit family and friends, and to tour.

In short, the common boundary has meant a high level of two-directional direct primary linkages. The only other common boundary transnational linkage--between Canada and Canadian Americans--is of considerably less intensity due to the much smaller numerical presence of Canadian Americans in the United States and the enormity of the cross-border labor movement between Mexico and the United States.[6] Therefore, I would hypothesize that direct primary linkages involving Mexico and Mexican-descent people in the United States have an importance far beyond the direct primary linkages of any other U.S. ethnic group.

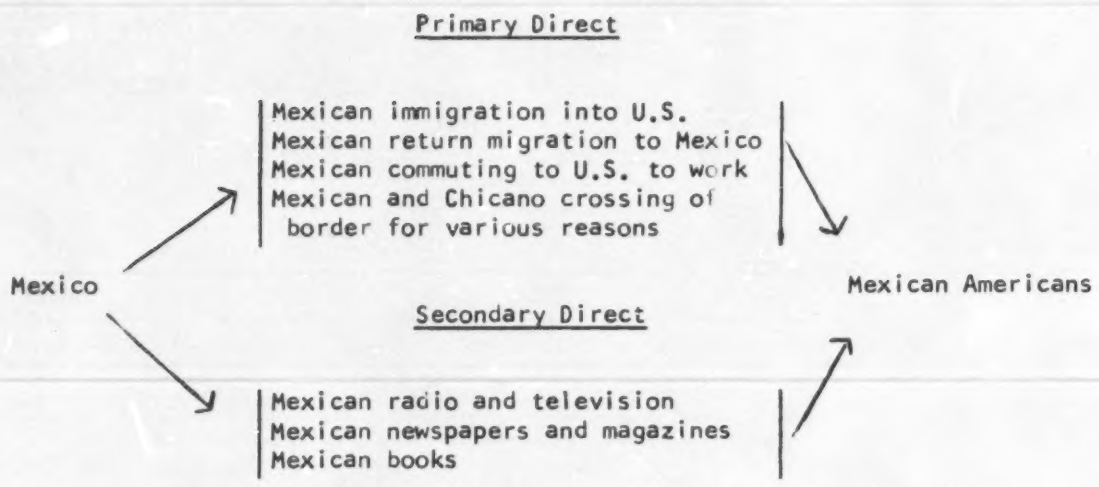
There is also a high level of secondary direct linkages. The continuous impact of Mexican media and publications within the United States among persons of Mexican descent, contrasted with that of secondary direct linkages of other ethnic groups, is heightened by two factors: (1) geographical proximity and (2) the high level of Spanish language usage among Mexican-descent people in the United States.

Particularly in those areas near the Mexican border, access to the Mexican communications media has been relatively easy. Mexican radio and later Mexican television stations are within easy receiving range. In addition, Spanish-language radio and television stations in the United States make heavy use of Mexican-made programs. Mexican newspapers and magazines are distributed to the United States with little delay, while Mexican books are easily available in heavily Mexican population areas.

Combined with geographical proximity to strengthen the importance of secondary direct linkages is the high level of Spanish-language usage among Mexican-descent people in the United States. This language prevalence is partially the result of the size and continuity of Mexican immigration rather than simply a matter of Spanish-language maintenance among Chicanos. As with other foreign-rooted ethnic groups, there has been a decline of Spanish-language usage among U.S.-born Mexican Americans.

DIAGRAM A

DIRECT TRANSNATIONAL LINKAGES



This decline is partially due to the increasing generations of U.S.-born Mexican Americans, increasing geographical dispersal of Mexican Americans out of the southwest, and increasing dispersal of Chicanos out of the Mexican barrios. It is also greatly a result of concerted efforts on the part of the U.S. educational system to eradicate Spanish-language usage in schools. This has often involved vigorously repressive measures, although recent reforms have reduced the extent and virulence of these actions.[7] Conversely, schools in general have made little effort to preserve or develop this valuable national language resource, although bilingual education offers some hope for an improvement of this lamentable situation.

Moreover, a recent phenomenon affecting Chicano emphasis on Spanish is the growth, in the last decade, of "Chicano nationalism"--a sense of pride in being Chicano, a growth of interest in Mexican and Chicano heritage, and a commitment to greater self-determination.[8] The Chicano Movement has spawned an increased desire on the part of many Mexican Americans to maintain and expand the study and use of Spanish. Thus, despite a history of general Spanish-language decline among Mexican Americans, the past decade may have seen a reversal of this language erosion. Bilingual programs, the Chicano Movement, and possibly most important, the existence of powerful direct transnational linkages with Mexico have reduced the rapidity and degree of Chicano root-culture language decline in contrast to the drop in root-culture language usage among U.S.-born members of most other ethnic groups.

Most important as a factor for the high level of Spanish-language usage among Mexican-descent people in the United States is the continued flow of Mexicans into the United States--as immigrants, as legal transitory labor, or as undocumented workers (illegal immigrants). Not only are Mexican entrants more skilled in Spanish (and conversely less skilled in English) than Chicanos, thus accounting for their more intensive Spanish-language usage, but they are also more interested in obtaining information from their home country. In short, the market for Mexican media in the United States is constantly increasing.

However, for the sake of precision, one other limiting factor should be mentioned. Oral Spanish proficiency is higher than written Spanish proficiency among Mexican Americans. Many Chicanos grow up speaking and understanding but not necessarily reading and writing Spanish. In addition, due principally to lower-class predominance among Mexican immigrants, many of them also lack Spanish literacy. This reduces to some degree the market for and impact of Mexican printed media. Yet even with this limitation, it is still clear that secondary direct linkages between Mexico and Mexican-descent people in the United States are of enormous significance--probably more than in the case of the secondary direct linkages of most other U.S. ethnic groups.

Finally, note should be taken of the historical and continuing relationship of the Mexican government with Mexican-descent people in the United States. While at times finding considerable support from the Mexican government, often through its numerous Mexican consulates, Mexican Americans have at other times felt abandoned or forgotten by Mexican

authorities. In recent years, however, the Mexican government has demonstrated increased interest in the fate of Chicanos.

Primary Indirect Linkages

The question of indirect linkages is somewhat more murky due to the fuzziness of the line "separating" (if, indeed, that is the proper term) Mexican Americans from other Mexicans in the United States. This fuzziness is exacerbated in the area of primary linkages, where human personal contact is the major conduit of cultural transmission.

According to the transnational linkage model, primary direct linkages are human contacts from or in the root culture nation, while primary indirect linkages are through the human cultural delivery system of ethnic groups within the United States (see Diagram B). However, because of the size and continuity of the Mexican movement into the United States, it is often difficult to separate these two linkages, particularly in those Chicano communities which have a large number or percentage of recent Mexican immigrants. Primary indirect linkages are more clear-cut in three types of communities: (1) northern Mexican communities which were annexed by the United States in 1848, but have received little Mexican immigration (such as in northern New Mexico, often referred to as Hispano communities);[9] (2) communities established after 1848 by conquered Mexicans but which have received little Mexican immigration (such as in southern Colorado);[10] or (3) those barrios or colonias which were formed originally by Mexican immigrants but which have received little recent immigration (such as some midwestern and eastern Mexican-American communities).[11]

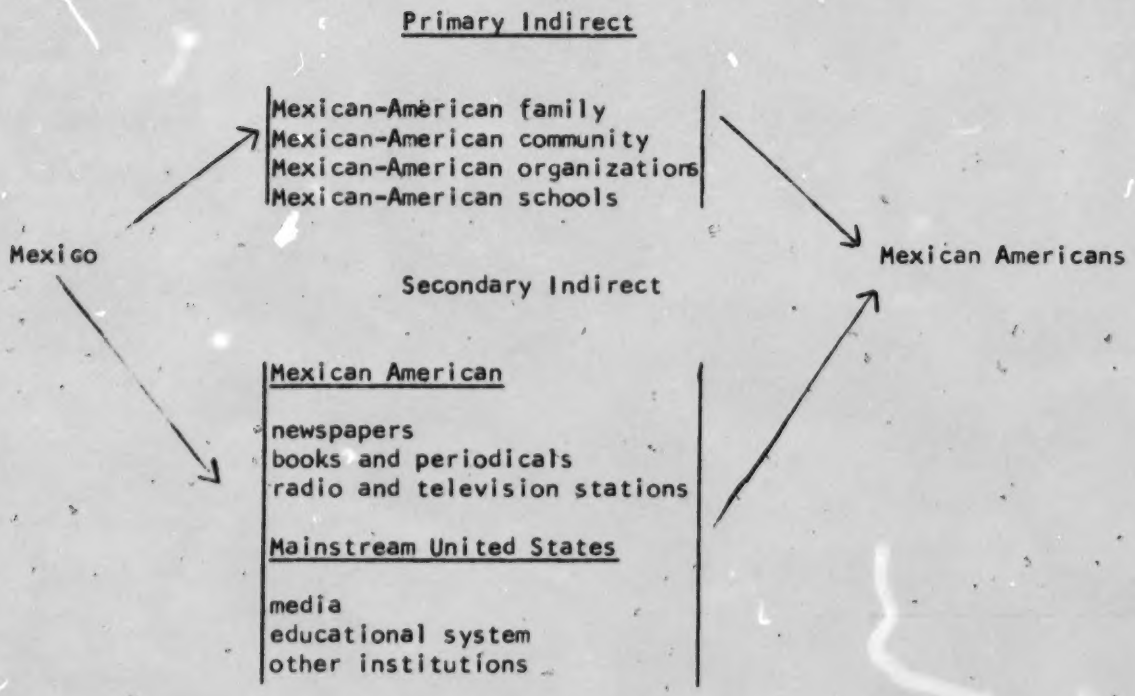
The Chicano family has been a powerful force for cultural maintenance and transmission. There has historically been a heavy emphasis on the adherence to family traditions. These have included patterns of respect for elders, Mexican food, observance of special holidays, gatherings of the extended family, music ceremonies, fiestas, and often use of the Spanish language.

Of particular importance in keeping the Mexican-American family a vital source of cultural transmission are two prime factors. First, the emphasis on the extended family results in the continuous intercommunication among not only the immediate family, but also among uncles, aunts, cousins, and in-laws. This not only extends the familial cultural influence, but also, conversely, brings the individual under intensive, multiple familial influences.

Second, the heavy stress on family has further resulted in a widespread predisposition among Mexican Americans to live near their extended families and, concomitantly, to reject the growing mainstream tendency toward continuous geographical mobility. As contrasted to the increasing rootlessness of many Americans--resulting partially from geographical mobility for economic gain and the practice of large companies and some federal government agencies to move their employees on a regular basis--

DIAGRAM B

INDIRECT TRANSNATIONAL LINKAGES



Chicanos tend to be more firmly rooted near their families. While this Chicano predisposition has somewhat restricted opportunities for economic gain, it has strengthened the Mexican-American family and has helped preserve cultural unity.

Combining with family as a powerful primary indirect linkage is the Chicano community. More than most other ethnic groups, Mexican Americans tend to have strong ties to their local communities. Many of their activities are centered in the barrio or colonia--words which translate loosely as neighborhood, but which have much more intense cultural overtones. The strength of Mexican culture in barrios and colonias, as well as the fact that barrios and colonias are centers of Chicano activity rather than just places to live, make them powerful transmitters and maintainers of culture.[12] One example of the preservation of Mexican culture is the curandero, the specialist in Mexican folk medicine, who continues to serve large numbers of Mexican Americans. In addition, the tendency of Mexican immigrants and laborers to settle in barrios, particularly where relatives and friends reside, makes these locales the scene of the constant interplay of Mexican and Mexican-American cultural forces.

However, time is taking its toll on the magnetic power of the Mexican-American family and community. There is increasing geographical mobility among Chicanos. As larger numbers leave the barrio and even the area, they become less influenced by their traditional primary indirect linkages. For them, secondary indirect linkages may become the most vital type of transnational linkage.

Along with family and community as maintainers of primary indirect linkages are Mexican-American organizations. Extensive both in number and diversity, such organizations include mutualistas (mutual aid societies, which have been fundamental in barrios since their origin), cultural organizations, social organizations, political organizations, professional societies, commercial organizations, and social service organizations. Some of these are strictly local, while others are statewide or national with local chapters.[13]

An additional factor has historically increased the significance of Mexican-American organizations. Discrimination in Anglo organizations--sometimes the outright prohibition of Mexican-American members, sometimes the creation of situations in which Chicanos feel uncomfortable--has limited these organizations as viable options for many Mexican Americans. Some Mexican-American organizations, therefore, have developed parallel to Anglo organizations. For example, the American G.I. Forum developed as an organization of Mexican-American veterans following World War II, due partially to the fact that Chicano veterans were not always welcome in Anglo veterans' organizations.[14] Thus, the combination of the proclivity for associating with persons of similar background (for many, this meant associating with persons using their primary language, Spanish) and rejection by Anglo organizations has given Mexican-American organizations an importance in the lives of Chicanos, including the maintenance of Mexican culture.

Finally, the past decade has seen the establishment of a number of Chicano

alternative educational institutions at the elementary, secondary, and university levels. By creating curricula sometimes described as culturally relevant, by selecting a culturally aware and sensitive faculty and staff, and often by developing and emphasizing a bilingual teaching approach, these schools have provided new options for Mexican Americans. Although their ultimate longevity and impact is still a question for the future to determine, these institutions are nevertheless examples of the expansion of the types of Chicano primary indirect linkages.

Secondary Indirect Linkages: Chicano Media

Of the four types of transnational linkages, secondary indirect linkages may be relatively less important for Mexican Americans than for most other U.S. ethnic groups. This is true both because of the extensive and intensive nature of the other three types of transnational linkages for Mexican-descent people in the United States and because of the relatively limited nature of the Mexican-American media.

Chicano newspapers have existed since the 1850's, shortly after the U.S. conquest of northern Mexico.[15] However, most Chicano newspapers have had limited circulation and even more limited longevity.[16] Two basic factors account for this phenomenon. First, until the early twentieth century, the Spanish-speaking Chicano population was relatively small--probably less than 250,000--and it was rendered even smaller as a newspaper market by the limited Spanish-language literacy. Second, there was the constant problem of under-capitalization. There has traditionally been little money in most Chicano communities. This has meant limited funding for newspapers, limited advertising, and limited readership, which has restricted the growth and survival capacity of Chicano newspapers.

That Chicano newspapers succeeded as well as they did, particularly during the nineteenth century, is a tribute to the determination of Mexican-American journalists. This determination paid off in the twentieth century with the attainment of permanence by some Mexican-American newspapers, particularly those in large urban centers. Examples are La Prensa of San Antonio and La Opinión of Los Angeles, which have been published regularly since 1913 and 1926, respectively.

As instruments of transnational linkage, Mexican-American newspapers vary considerably. Some, particularly the older newspapers and those in areas with large numbers of Mexican immigrants, have traditionally included a high percentage of news from Mexico. In contrast, many newspapers of recent vintage, including most of those spawned by the Chicano Movement of the 1960's and 1970's, as well those published and distributed in areas with little immigrant population, have tended to place greater emphasis on news of Mexican Americans and less on Mexico and Mexican culture per se. Indicative of this change, in addition to the type of material included is the fact that most recent Chicano newspapers are English-language or

bilingual rather than strictly Spanish. Therefore, while these latter newspapers are instrumental in maintaining Mexican-American identity, they are less significant as agents of transnational linkage from the Mexican root culture.

Use of English rather than Spanish is also dominant, although not total, in other facets of Mexican-American publishing, such as books and periodicals. The last decade has witnessed the establishment of a number of Chicano publishing enterprises, either privately or through universities. The types of publications have varied--novels, collections of short stories, books of poetry, literary and scholarly journals, and general circulation magazines. The emphasis of these publications has been on Mexican-American culture and experience rather than on Mexico. As in the case of most recently established Chicano newspapers, these new Chicano publishing enterprises serve more as strengtheners of Chicano identity than as instruments of transnational linkage, except indirectly--insofar as the building of Chicano identity and culture provokes a strengthening of interest in Mexican roots, linkages with Mexico, and the Spanish language.

More transnational in their orientation are Chicano radio and television stations. Such stations tend to be concentrated in large urban areas of the southwest, where the Spanish language, at least in its verbal form, is a major medium of communications. Spanish-language radio and television stations have demonstrated considerable strength, survival power, and audience reception. The latter, in particular, has had a galvanizing effect on advertisers, including Anglo companies seeking to tap the Mexican-descent market in the United States. However, Anglo advertising has generally been restricted to local companies, such as retail stores. Most national institutional advertisers seem to have not yet "discovered" the Mexican-American consumer or the Mexican-American media. While most Spanish-language radio and television stations give considerable emphasis to local Chicano events and to Chicano culture--particularly to Chicano music--they are also effective as a transnational linkage through their broadcasting of Mexican music and Mexican programs, particularly serials.

An even more "indirect" indirect linkage is the impact of Chicano media via their influence on mainstream media. One example is the widespread adoption by mainstream media of the word, Chicano, to refer to Mexican Americans in general, even though many Mexican Americans still reject the term. This adoption process is partially the result of the constant use of the term by the Chicano media. In turn, by adopting and using Chicano, the powerful mainstream media have increased the term's acceptability among both Anglo-Americans and Mexican Americans.

Secondary Indirect Linkages: Anglo Institutions

Chicano media provide only part of the secondary indirect transnational linkage system. The other aspect of this linkage system is not what Chicanos have done, but what has been done to Chicanos--the presentation of Mexico and

Mexican culture in the mass media, educational system, and other institutions of the dominant society. I use the phrase, what has been done to Chicanos, with consideration and precision. Neither Chicanos nor Mexico have fared well in the mainstream media or institutions.

All persons receive part of their education from the "societal curriculum"--that educational curriculum which functions in society outside of the school system. The societal curriculum is composed of family, friends, the neighborhood, the mass media, and other such societal components which influence the development of an individual's beliefs, perceptions, and attitudes. Unfortunately, in both historical and contemporary terms, the U.S. societal curriculum has been pervaded subtly and sometimes not too subtly by anti-Mexican prejudice.

The roots of this prejudice stretch back over the centuries to the European power struggle for western hemispheric domination. Since Spain had arrived first and had claimed most of the western hemisphere, she became the prime target for other European contenders. Through her own vigorous internal debate over the treatment of Indians, Spain unwittingly furnished her antagonists with fuel for their propaganda machines.[17] Using Spanish cruelty toward Indians as the base and blending in other anti-Spanish themes, these contending nations propagated a collection of anti-Spanish stereotypes which became known as the Black Legend.[18]

English colonists carried this tradition of anti-Hispanism to the western hemisphere. Here their constant conflict with Spaniards and residents of Spanish possessions reinforced anti-Spanish attitudes. By the time that the United States became an independent nation, the anti-Spanish legacy had become an intrinsic, if sometimes unrecognized or unadmitted, part of the national psyche. Western hemispheric events added another dimension to English and Anglo-American antagonism toward things Hispanic in origin. Englishmen and Anglo-Americans looked particularly askance at the extensive process of Spanish-Indian cohabitation and intermarriage which resulted in a new ethnic category--the mestizo.

If any kind of prejudice was more deeply rooted in the Anglo mentality than anti-Hispanism, it was a feeling of superiority over non-whites.[19] Moreover, the mestizo, the offspring of "debased" Spaniards and "heathen savages," was considered to be the inheritor of the "worst" aspects of both.[20] And as an aggressive, independent United States expanded westward during the early nineteenth century, it found this Mexican mestizo in its way.

Anglo-Americans of that era scorned the Mexican mestizo. Texas Revolution and Mexican War propaganda emotionally supercharged the already existent anti-Mexican attitudes. In his study, With the Ears of Strangers, Cecil Robinson explores in depth Anglo-American perceptions of Mexico and Mexicans during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Robinson cites such examples of anti-Mexican prose as nineteenth-century travelers' accounts and the dime novel, a popular nineteenth-century literary form which commonly used the theme of the triumph of the good Anglo-American cowboy over the

degenerate Mexican mestizo. As Robinson explains:

> In the attitudes expressed, this pulp literature reveals more openly than most records of the time the naive and cocky sense of superiority with which young America regarded itself. The 'greaser' provides a most apt foil for the projection of such inflated self-image, and the dime novels are full of incidents in which Saxon intelligence, strength, and purity of motive triumph over the guile and treachery of the degenerate 'yellow belly.'[21]

In other words, Anglo-Americans updated the classical anti-Spanish Black Legend into a Modern Black Legend: anti-mestizo, anti-Mexican, and ultimately anti-Chicano. And although the dime novel's blatant racism has given way to a more subtle brand of ethnic prejudice, the Modern Black Legend lives on.

What exactly is the Modern Black Legend? I define it as a negative attitude toward, stereotype of, or prejudice against the Mexican American created by the steady bombardment of the minds of Americans by anti-Mexican images and ideas, made more effective by the absence of any significant institutionalized defense or counterattack against this process.[22] In short, the U.S. societal curriculum bombards people with these anti-Mexican images and ideas, particularly those spread by the mass media.

This is not the place to catalog all of the media perpetrators of anti-Mexican prejudice. Studies of motion pictures, television, magazines, newspapers, and advertising have revealed the consistency of demeaning presentations of Chicanos and of Mexico.[23] In recent years, greatly as a result of Chicano Movement challenges, the media have attempted to show more sensitivity toward and provide more balanced presentation of Chicanos and Mexico. This has taken many forms, such as more newspaper and television stories about Chicanos, more Chicano characters and Chicano themes in television shows, and more Chicano reporters, newscasters, and actors. However, anti-Chicano and anti-Mexican elements continue to pervade the societal curriculum, particularly the mass media. Mexican Americans as well as non-Chicanos are "students" of the societal curriculum. In so far as the Anglo media provides consistently negative presentations about Mexico and Mexican-descent people in the United States, it can be hypothesized that as an instrument of transnational linkages for Mexican Americans, the mass media are agents of negative cultural transmission.

But what about that other curriculum--the school curriculum? It would be pleasant to state that schools provide that significant institutionalized defense or counterattack against anti-Mexican aspects of the societal curriculum. Unfortunately, this has not traditionally been true. In fact, schools have been major forces in building, reinforcing, and maintaining prejudice toward and misunderstanding about Mexican Americans and Mexico and in creating among young Chicanos negative beliefs about and attitudes toward their own Mexican and Mexican-American heritage and culture.

The recent six-part study of education and Mexican Americans, conducted and published by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, provides dramatic evidence of the negative aspects of schools in terms of Mexican Americans.[24] My own research on the writing of U.S. history, based on the content analysis of popular U.S. history textbooks used at the elementary, secondary, and university levels, has revealed little in these texts which would specifically contribute to the pride of young Chicanos, but much that could assault their egos and reinforce the concept of Anglo superiority.[25] In short, as in the case of the mass media, the role of U.S. schools as a transnational linkage has been a negative one--deforming the image of Mexico and omitting or distorting the presentation of Chicano culture and experience.

However, as in the case of the mass media, there have been recent efforts at school reform. For example, attempts have been made to include more Chicano and Mexican heroes and "success stories" in curricula and text materials. Some schools and districts have purchased or created their own supplementary materials on Mexico and on Chicanos. The current multicultural education reform movement has championed the increased curricular incorporation of ethnic cultures and experiences as a step toward creating better self and intergroup understanding. The creation of Spanish language bilingual-bicultural programs, with their heavy emphasis on Mexican and to a lesser extent Chicano culture and experience, has lead to a strengthening of transnational linkages for Chicanos in these programs through increasing their knowledge of their Mexican cultural heritage. Yet, despite recent limited reforms, there is no reason to consider either the present societal or school curriculum as an effective instrument of positive secondary indirect transnational linkage between Mexico and Mexican Americans.

In summary, then, primary direct, secondary direct, and primary indirect linkages are all powerful forces for the maintenance of transnational connections of Mexico and Mexican Americans. Chicano secondary indirect linkages are probably the least important when compared with the importance of the four types of transnational linkages for other U.S. ethnic groups. Dominant society secondary indirect linkages, especially through the media and the schools, have traditionally been negative.

## Linkage Variations: Time, Space, and Internal Diversity

To this point, the major emphasis has been on types of linkages. I would now like to turn to a different issue--variations of linkages. Two major variables--space and internal diversity, both in Mexico and in the United States--must be considered. Moreover, these two variables must be analyzed through time as they function dynamically.

Linkages vary over time. Each year, each day, Mexico changes, Mexican Americans as a group change, and the United States changes. For example, there were major variations between Mexico under Benito Juárez, under Porfirio

Díaz, during the military phase of the Mexican Revolution, during the Cristero Rebellion, under Lázaro Cárdenas, during World War II, and under its various post-World War II presidents. Likewise, there were major differences between the United States prior to the Civil War, during the Civil War, during Reconstruction, during the various western railroad, mining, agricultural, and industrial booms, during World War I, during the Great Depression, during World War II, during the post-World War II era, and during the social upheavals of the 1960's and 1970's. Finally, the very nature and situation of people of Mexican descent in the United States has changed over time--the nineteenth century with its isolated Chicano regions, the major immigrant era of the first three decades of the 1900's, the repatriation era of the 1930's, the World War II era, the era of post-war activism, and the Chicano Movement era of the 1960's and 1970's. In the analysis of transnational linkages, then, the historical moment must be considered by asking the following three questions:

(1) What was Mexico like at the time of the linkage being examined?
(2) What was the United States like at the time of the linkage being examined?
(3) What was the situation of Mexican-descent people in the United States at the time of the linkage being examined? (See Diagram C.)

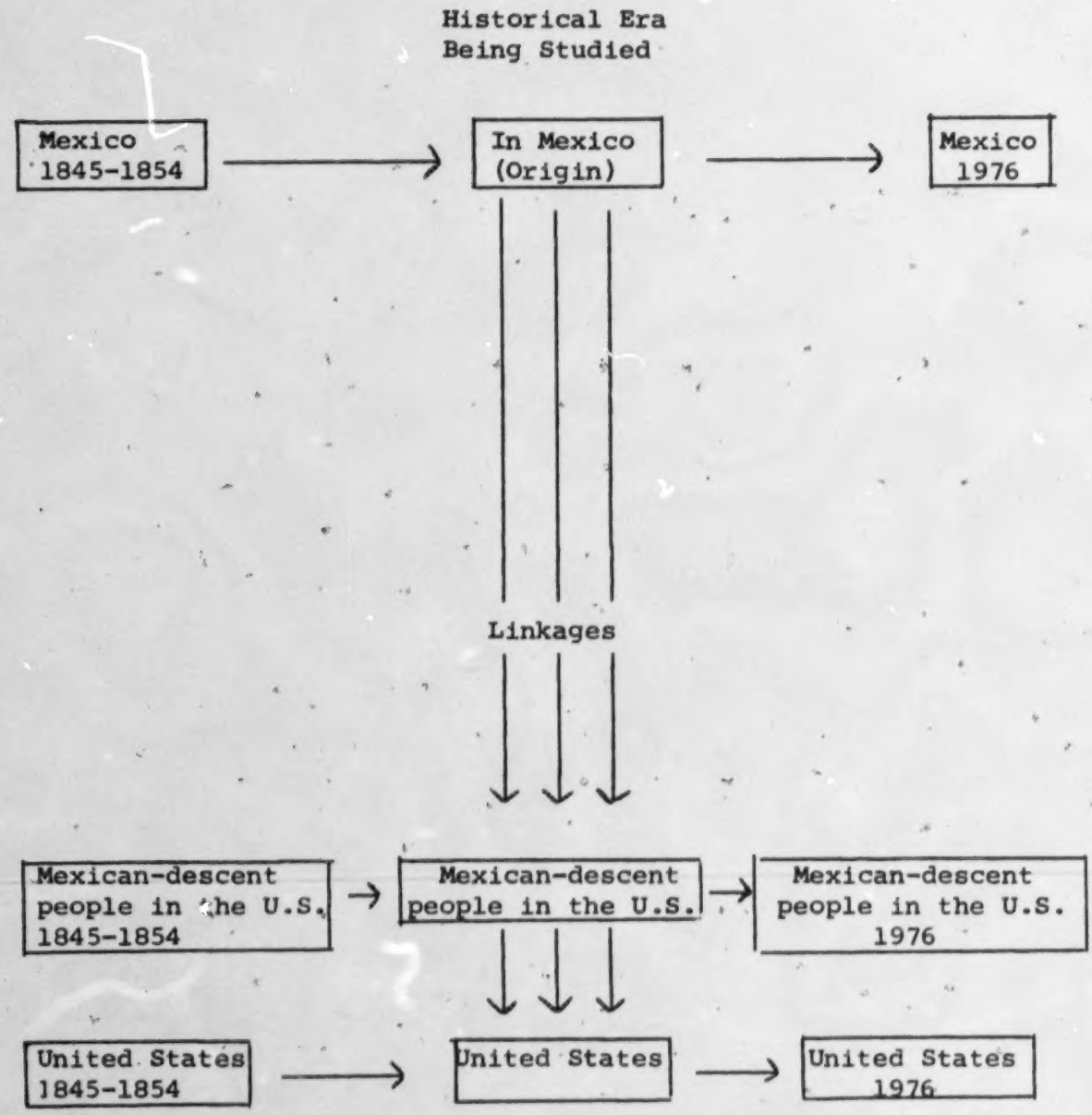
Linkages also vary through space. Spatial variations include differences between regions, between cities, between rural, suburban, and urban locales, and even between neighborhoods. For example, there are variations among the kinds of linkages, such as types of immigration, which originate in different cultural milieus. There are considerable differences in the destination (temporary or permanent) of these linkages (such as immigration) in the United States--geographical regions, agricultural areas, industrial urban centers, border cities, or locales of variable economic opportunities, governmental responsiveness, or ethnic attitudes.[26] Finally, there are considerable spatial differences within the Mexican-descent people in the United States who are touched by these linkages--for example, those in south Texas, northern New Mexico, southern California, or the Midwest, to name a few regional possibilities; farmworkers or industrial laborers; rural residents or urban dwellers. In short, in the analysis of transnational linkages, the space variable must be investigated by asking the following three questions:

(1) What is the nature of the geographical location (or locations) in Mexico from which this linkage originates?
(2) What is the nature of the geographical location (or locations) in the United States to which this linkage connects?
(3) What is the nature and situation of Mexican-descent people in the U.S. geographical location (or locations) affected by this linkage?

But even the consideration of time and space does not provide sufficient perspective for the accurate analysis of transnational linkages. Mexico, Mexican Americans, and the United States are not homogeneous entities either at any moment in time or at any geographical location. At any particular historical moment or any particular spatial location, there will be inevitable internal variations of people, institutions, economic activities, political beliefs, organizations, and countless other elements. A precise

DIAGRAM C

TRANSNATIONAL LINKAGES OVER TIME



analysis of transnational linkages must include the consideration of these variations, as they apply to Mexico, to the United States, and to Mexican-descent people in the United States. Following are examples of questions which can be asked when considering these variations:

(1) What are the age variations among Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and Anglo-Americans involved in the linkage?
(2) What is the nature of the socio-economic class or classes of Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and Anglo-Americans involved in the linkage?
(3) What are the linguistic (oral and written) characteristics of the Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and Anglo-Americans involved in the linkage?
(4) What are the political beliefs of Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and Anglo Americans involved in the linkage?
(5) What are the attitudes about ethnic groups of the Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and Anglo-Americans involved in the linkage?
(6) What are the institutions and organizations prevalent among Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and Anglo-Americans involved in the linkage?
(7) Why did this linkage originate (for example, why did this particular group of Mexicans leave Mexico) and why did it make contact with a particular locale in the United States (for example, what was it about the Mexican-descent community in that locale or the economic opportunities in that locale that may have influenced these Mexicans to settle there)?
(8) What are the cultural patterns among Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and Anglo-Americans involved in the linkage?
(9) What are the sex variations and the significance of these variations among Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and Anglo-Americans involved in the linkage?
(10) What are the labels of self-identification and labels for other groups used by Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and Anglo-Americans involved in the linkage?

## The Chicano Homeland

My analysis until now--in the discussions of the four types of transnational linkages and the use of space and internal diversity variables over time--has been general in nature. I have adopted this approach for two reasons. First, in a short paper, it is impossible to present all of the variations of transnational linkages which involve Mexico and Mexican Americans. Such an abbreviated presentation could not go beyond simplistic depictions of transnational linkages amounting to little more than distorting generalizations and stereotypes. Therefore, second, my principal goal in this paper is to provide a valid, flexible, and usable conceptual investigative framework which can be used for the analysis of the variety and totality of the linkages between Mexico and Mexican Americans. For purposes of illustration, I would like to provide one brief example of how this analytical framework can be applied to the examination of transnational linkages.

Geographer Richard Nostrand has developed the concept of the Chicano

Homeland.[27] Using 1960 census data by county, Nostrand regionalized the Mexican-American population in the five southwestern states, based on the hypothesis that Chicanos are of greater relative significance in counties where persons of Spanish surname constitute both a minimum of five per cent of the population and number more than 500. He found that, as of 1960, counties meeting these two criteria were located in the more southerly southwest between the Mexican border and a line drawn roughly from Galveston Bay to San Francisco Bay. This, according to Nostrand, is the Chicano Homeland. Extending his argument, one can consider those counties in which persons of Spanish surname constitute either (but not both) a minimum of five per cent of the population or number more than 500 as secondary areas of the Chicano Homeland.

Nostrand indicates that the Homeland is both a demographic and a culture region--where Chicanos are concentrated and where Chicano culture is most intense. Moreover, the Homeland is where Chicanos are most deeply rooted, where they have made the most pronounced imprint on the landscape, and where they have had the greatest impact on U.S. society and culture. Yet the Chicano Homeland is neither homogeneous nor static. Part of the explanation for the development, variation, and current status of the Chicano Homeland can be found through the investigation of transnational linkages.

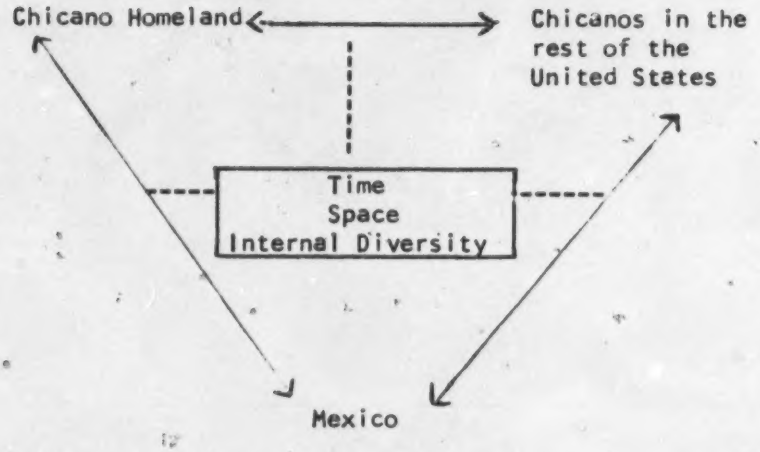
Changes in linkages between Mexico and the Chicano Homeland can be examined over time, as can the extended indirect linkages between the Chicano Homeland and Chicanos in other parts of the United States and between Mexico and Chicanos in other parts of the United States. (See Diagram D). This examination would involve a study of the changing nature of Mexico and the changing nature of the Chicano Homeland, including changes in the family, Mexican-descent communities, Mexican-American organizations, the Chicano media, and other elements of indirect transnational linkage. This study would also involve the analysis of the changing geographical configuration of the Chicano Homeland, as Mexicans have entered the Homeland, as Chicanos have expanded throughout the Southwest (and the nation), and as increasing numbers of Anglo-Americans have moved into the Chicano Homeland.

Space can be examined by noting the variations between regions of the Chicano Homeland and urban, suburban, and rural variations of Chicano population throughout the Homeland. For example, what are the differences in the kinds and intensity of linkages between Mexico and southern California, northern California, southern Arizona, central Arizona, southern New Mexico, northern New Mexico, west Texas, east Texas, south Texas, southern Colorado, central Colorado, and other Chicano Homeland subregions? Clearly, direct transnational linkages from Mexico have been much weaker with such areas as northern New Mexico and southern Colorado than with such regions as southern California and south Texas.

In addition what are the differences in the kinds, intensity, and direction of linkages stemming from northeastern Mexico, northwestern Mexico, or Baja California? This is critical because, for example, there are differences in the nature of transnational linkages between northwestern Mexico and California and those between northeastern Mexico and south Texas. Since these and other linkages are spatially different, it is necessary to inspect

DIAGRAM D

CHICANO HOMELAND TRANSNATIONAL LINKAGES



the differences between Mexican regions, between Mexican-descent people in different regions of the Chicano Homeland, and between the types of Anglo-American societies in the various parts of the Homeland.

Finally what are the differences in the kinds, intensity, and direction of direct linkages from regions of Mexico and indirect linkages from regions of the Chicano Homeland to communities of Mexican-descent people outside of the Homeland? This is a question of growing importance as Chicanos spread throughout the United States and become an increasingly national minority. For example, many midwestern Chicano communities have been established by and still maintain linkages to south Texans. What have been the nature and impact of these linkages in creating the distinctive character of these communities?

Internal diversity must also be considered in examining the differences within the various Mexican, Chicano, and Anglo-American regions over time. These variations would include, but not be limited to, age, socio-economic class, occupation, language, political beliefs and practices, attitudes about ethnic groups, institutions and organizations, cultural patterns, sex variations, labels of self-identity, labels used for other groups, and generational differences.

By considering time, space, and internal diversity, then, one can develop an understanding of the continuity and change of the commonalities and differences within the Chicano Homeland as they are affected by the four types of transnational linkages. Moreover, as the Chicano Homeland provides a kind of cultural stepping-stone for Mexican-descent people who have settled in other parts of the United States, an analysis of these extended linkages can provide an understanding of Chicano communities outside of the Homeland. The Chicano Homeland as a base concept, then, makes an ideal subject for study using the time, space, and internal diversity approach and noting the four types of transnational linkages.

## Educational Implications of Transnational Linkages

But transnational linkages are more than just an interesting area of study. They are also a key for better self and intergroup understanding, for constructive reform of the educational process, and for more sensitive and effective public policy decisions. One of the most critical areas involving Mexican Americans is that of the U.S. educational system. At least two aspects of education stand out as important for reanalysis using transnational linkages--the education of Mexican-descent students and the presentation of Mexican and Mexican-American culture and experience in the curriculum.[28]

The last decade has witnessed a growing interest in the special factors involved in teaching Mexican-descent students.[29] But much of this literature treats these students as a bloc, with little attention devoted to the internal variations among young people of Mexican descent. And even where there is acknowledgement of individual differences, there is seldom any

indication of how these differences can by analyzed.

Transnational linkages provide one approach to assessing these differences. When working with Mexican-descent children, educators can examine how time, space, and internal diversity have gone into the development of each child and how the four types of transnational linkages may affect the individuality of that child. From what region in Mexico did they or their ancestors come? When did they or their ancestors come to the United States? What were the characteristics of their ancestors when they came? Why did they settle where they did? What were the conditions of the community when they settled in it? What was the nature of the Chicano culture in that community when they arrived? Is the child an immigrant? How long has the child been in the U.S.? If the child was born in the U.S., what generation Mexican American is he or she? What changes has the child's family undergone? What transnational linkages continue to influence the child and the child's family? What is the language-use history and current usage of the family? How, if at all, has Spanish usage been influenced by linkages to Mexico?

These questions are only indicative of the kinds which can be asked when using transnational linkages as a framework for developing an understanding of different Mexican-descent students. This type of analysis does not provide instant diagnosis or absolute prescription for most effectively working with each child, but it does provide significant indicators for individual understanding. Just as important, it helps educators avoid stereotyping--diagnosing and prescribing on the basis of general studies about Mexicans and Chicanos.

A second educational issue is how Mexican and Chicano culture and experience can be presented in the classroom.[30] As a result of the impact of the Chicano Movement, schools have begun to take steps to include Mexican elements in the curriculum. For the most part these changes have taken the form of general introductions to Mexican History, emphasizing heroes, to Mexican culture, especially music, dance, food, and art, and to Mexican-American history, focusing on heroes and stories.[31] However, present educational materials reflect little effort to explain the <u>explicit</u> linkages between Mexico and Mexican Americans. Most materials contain the <u>implicit</u> message that the study of Mexican culture by its very nature "explains" Mexican Americans and that Mexican and Mexican-American cultures are nearly identical. Even when distinctions are made between Mexican and Chicano culture, there is seldom a discussion of precisely how Mexican culture and experience have influenced the Chicano historical and cultural process.

Transnational linkages provide a powerful analytical framework for presenting Mexican culture and history and <u>explicitly</u> linking it with Mexican-American history and culture. For example, when introducing Mexican music, teachers can demonstrate how Mexican music has influenced the development of Chicano music. This influence may change over time, as both Mexican and Chicano music change. This influence may vary over space, as specific interregional linkages provide greater influence of some types of Mexican regional music on Chicano music in certain regions. For example, the differences between northern New Mexican music and south Texas music may be partially

explained by the continuity of Mexican influence on south Texas contrasted with the reduced influence of Mexico on northern New Mexico since the U.S. conquest. This influence may also be affected by internal variations, such as musical preferences influenced by social class affiliation, music of different age groups, music of different ethnic groups in Mexico, different genres of music, and the different types of transnational linkages which transmit these musical influences.

This presentation of Mexican and Chicano music is only one example of how transnational linkages can be used to enrich the curriculum and make the study of Mexican and Chicano culture and experience more valid. The study of ethnic groups and ethnicity should be oriented toward creating better self-understanding and intergroup understanding. Transnational linkages provide a frame work for moving toward the development of curricula which promote better understanding.

## Public Policy Implications of Transnational Linkages

But education is not an end in itself. A goal of education is to produce more effective, more rational, more sensitive and more humane decision-makers. Ethnicity in general is becoming an increasingly more important phenomenon in the United States, with Mexican Americans the most rapidly growing ethnic group in the U.S. Moreover, not only are the ranks of Mexican-descent people in the U.S. being increased constantly by immigration and high birth rates, but Mexican Americans are also spreading with rapidity throughout the United States. Therefore, it is important to our nation that all Americans, especially those in policy-making or implementing positions, develop a better understanding of persons of Mexican-descent. Transnational linkages--viewed with consideration of time, space, and internal diversity--provide one mechanism for assisting policy-makers to deal more sensitively and effectively with Mexican-descent people.

Let us take one example. Local governments in communities with sizable Mexican-descent populations need to develop policies and programs to better serve these people and their barrios. Yet on what basis can local governments develop a knowledge and understanding of their barrios?

Too often this "knowledge" is based on general literature about or stereotypes of Mexican Americans. Other times it is based on static contemporary surveys and statistics which provide current numerical profiles, but do not tap the dynamics of the local Chicano culture and experience. The use of a transnational linkage exploratory framework can lead to more valid analysis and sensitive policy decisions.

In attempting to discover the special nature of local Chicano communities, policy-makers can ask many questions, such as the following. When did this particular Chicano community (or communities, if there is more than one barrio) begin? Was it established through conquest, immigration from Mexico, or migration from another area of the United States? From what region (regions)

of Mexico did immigrants come or from what region (regions) of the United States did the settling migrants come? What was the situation of Mexico in general and that region in particular at the time of their migration? What was the situation of the local community at the time of their arrival? Why did they leave Mexico or their other U.S. communities? Why did they settle in this community? What were the internal variations of those who settled in this community? Did they come at one time or has immigration from Mexico or migration from other Chicano communities continued? What types of direct transnational linkages does this barrio still maintain with Mexico? What types of indirect transnational linkages does the barrio maintain with other Chicano communities? What types of indirect transnational linkages function within the barrio?

These questions are merely indicative of the varieties which can be asked in developing greater understanding of the local Mexican-descent population. And with greater understanding can come better, more effective, and more sensitive policies--both the development of new policies and the revision or discarding of old policies.

## Self-Understanding Implications of Transnational Linkages

One of the clear messages sounded by the ethnic civil rights movements of the 1960's was that ethnic people have long been victimized by a lack of self-identity and self-understanding. Much, possibly most, of this lack of self-understanding has resulted from the dual negative impact of the societal curriculum and the educational system through their distorted depiction of ethnic groups and their root cultures. The search for better self-identity and self-understanding has been a central element of the ethnic movements.

The development of Chicano Studies programs and courses has been an element of this quest. Similarly, the publication of books, journals, magazines, and articles on Mexico and Mexican Americans is representative of this search. However, the quest for self-understanding has been neither easy nor entirely successful.

One of the limitations in this attempt to create better Mexican-American understanding of Chicano roots and identity has been the absence of a solid framework by which Chicanos can analyze their historical and contemporary linkages with Mexican and Mexican-American culture and experience. Transnational linkages as an analytical framework may provide such an effective mechanism for developing more valid self-understanding. Through the evaluation of the four types of transnational linkages, modified by considerations of time, space, and internal diversity, Mexican Americans may become better able to perceive more precisely and sensitively their relations to Mexico and Mexicans, both directly and indirectly.

## Conclusion

For years Mexican Americans have suffered from the fate of low visibility

and, when visible, from misunderstanding. The Chicano Movement increased Chicano visibility, but increased visibility has not always resulted in increased understanding. One of the great injustices done to Mexican-descent people in the U.S. is the lumping of them into a single, homogeneous group, with educational programs, public policy, and individual beliefs and actions based on this misperception. And even the recognition of intragroup differences has not been accompanied by the adoption of an effective framework for developing a systematic understanding of those differences.

Transnational linkages do not provide a skeleton key to understanding nor a perfect map for future action. However, used as a dynamic analytical framework; with the consideration of time, space, and internal diversity, transnational linkages can prove a valuable mechanism for better intergroup and self-understanding, with more sensitive action as a potential result.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Geographer Richard Nostrand of the University of Oklahoma is currently involved in an extensive research project to determine the current self-labeling and group-labeling proclivities of persons of Mexican descent in the southwest.

2. For example, see Cecil Robinson, WITH THE EARS OF STRANGERS. THE MEXICAN IN AMERICAN LITERATURE (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1963) and David Weber (ed.), FOREIGNERS IN THEIR NATIVE LAND. HISTORICAL ROOTS OF THE MEXICAN AMERICANS (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973), pp. 71-78, 135-137.

3. A basic study of the so-called "Spanish Borderlands" is John Francis Bannon, THE SPANISH BORDERLANDS FRONTIER, 1513-1821 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), although its major emphasis is political and institutional rather than social and cultural. A provocative brief introduction to the geographical spread of Mexican civilization can be found in D. W. Meinig, SOUTHWEST: THREE PEOPLES IN GEOGRAPHICAL CHANGE, 1600-1970 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 9-16, 27-35.

4. There is an extensive historiography on these critical events. Two of the most fascinating contemporary documents are Carlos E. Castañeda (ed.), THE MEXICAN SIDE OF THE TEXAS REVOLUTION (1836), BY THE CHIEF MEXICAN PARTICIPANTS (Dallas: P.L. Turner Company, 1928) and Abiel Abbot Livermore, THE WAR WITH MEXICO REVIEWED (Boston: American Peace Society, 1850).

5. In an excellent revisionist article, the able young Chicano historian, Oscar Martinez, suggests that this commonly used figure severely under-represents Mexicans in the annexed region, who may have numbered more than 115,000. See Oscar Martinez, "On the Size of the Chicano Population: New Estimates, 1850-1900," AZTLAN, INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF CHICANO STUDIES RESEARCH, VI, 1 (Spring, 1975), 43-67.

6. For an introduction to the literature on Mexican movement to and from the United States, see Arthur F. Corwin, "Mexican Emigration History, 1900-1970: Literature and Research," LATIN AMERICAN RESEARCH REVIEW, VIII, 2 (Summer, 1973), 3-24.

7. An illuminating introduction to the experiences of Mexican Americans in U.S. schools is the six-part Mexican-American Education Study (1971-1974) published by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

8. Among the descriptions of the Chicano Movement and its impact are Tony Castro, CHICANO POWER. THE EMERGENCE OF MEXICAN AMERICA (New York: Saturday Review Press, 1974) and Rodolfo Acuña, OCCUPIED AMERICA: THE CHICANO'S STRUGGLE TOWARD LIBERATION (San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1972), pp. 222-278.

9. For an introduction to the Hispanos of northern New Mexico see Frances Leon Swadesh, LOS PRIMEROS POBLADORES. HISPANIC AMERICANS OF THE UTE FRONTIER (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1974) and Nancie L. Gonzalez, THE SPANISH-AMERICANS OF NEW MEXICO. A HERITAGE OF PRIDE (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969).

10. See Olibama López Tushar, PEOPLE OF THE VALLEY. A HISTORY OF THE SPANISH COLONIALS OF THE SAN LUIS VALLEY (Denver: Minority Educational Center, Metropolitan State College, 1972).

11. For example, see Barbara June Macklin, "Structural Stability and Culture Change in a Mexican-American Community" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1963), concerning Toledo, Ohio, and Stanley A. West, "The Mexican Aztec Society: A Mexican American Voluntary Association in Diachronic Perspective" (Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University, 1973), which focuses on Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

12. Numerous recently completed doctoral dissertations as well as many now in progress focus on the history of Chicano communities in major cities. These include: Alberto Camarillo, "The Making of a Chicano Community: A History of the Chicanos in Santa Barbara, California, 1850-1930" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1975); Pedro Castillo, "The Mexican in Los Angeles, 1890-1920" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, in progress); Mario Trinidad García, "El Paso's Mexican American Community, 1880s-1930s" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, San Diego, 1976); Richard Griswold del Castillo, "La Raza Hispano Americana: The Emergence of an Urban Culture among the Spanish Speaking of Los Angeles, 1850-1880" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1974); Louise Año Nuevo de Kerr, "Chicanos in Chicago, 1920-1970" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, in progress); Oscar Martínez, "Border Boom Town: El Paso-Ciudad Juárez since 1880" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1976); Ricardo Romo, "The Mexican Community in Los Angeles, 1917-1928" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1976). Among the published studies of Mexican-American communities are Ruth Tuck, NOT WITH THE FIST. MEXICAN-AMERICANS IN A SOUTHWEST CITY (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1946) and Arthur J. Rubel, ACROSS THE TRACKS. MEXICAN AMERICANS IN A TEXAS CITY (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966).

13. Among the studiesof Mexican-American organizations are Kaye Lynn Briegel, "Alianza Hispano-Americana, 1894-1965: A Mexican American Fraternal Insurance Society" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1974) and West, "The Mexican Aztec Society" (see footnote 11).

14. Kaye Briegel, "The Development of Mexican-American Organizations," in Manuel P. Servin (ed.), THE MEXICAN-AMERICANS: AN AWAKENING MINORITY (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Glencoe Press, 1970), pp. 169-171.

15. A brief history of one of the earliest Chicano newspapers, EL CLAMOR PUBLICO of Los Angeles, can be found in Leonard Pitt, THE DECLINE OF THE CALIFORNIOS. A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE SPANISH-SPEAKING CALIFORNIANS, 1846-1890 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968).

16. For a useful, although not exhaustive, list of 380 Mexican-American newspapers published between 1848 and 1958 see Herminio Rios and Lupe Castillo, "Toward a True Chicano Bibliography. Mexican-American Newspapers: 1848-1942," EL GRITO. A JOURNAL OF CONTEMPORARY MEXICAN-AMERICAN THOUGHT, III, 4 (Summer, 1970), 17-24, and Herminio Rios C., "Toward A True Chicano Bibliography--Part II," EL GRITO. A JOURNAL OF CONTEMPORARY MEXICAN-AMERICAN THOUGHT, V, 4 (Summer, 1972), 40-47.

17. A discussion of this Spanish internal debate can be found in Lewis Hanke, ARISTOTLE AND THE AMERICAN INDIANS. A STUDY IN RACE PREJUDICE IN THE MODERN WORLD (Chicago: H. Regnery Co., 1959) and idem, THE SPANISH STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE IN THE CONQUEST OF AMERICA (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949). For an examination of what Pierre Chaunu refers to as "the polemical arsenal of imperialisms hostile to the Spanish Empire" see his "Las Casas et la première crise structurelle de la colonisation Espagnole (1515-1523)," REVUE HISTORIQUE, CCXXIX (January-March, 1963), 59-102.

18. The term Black Legend was originated by Julián Juderías y Loyot in his work, LA LEYENDA NEGRA Y LA VERDAD HISTORICA. CONTRIBUCIÓN AL ESTUDIO DEL CONCEPTO DE ESPAÑA EN EUROPA, DE LAS CAUSAS DE ESTE CONCEPTO Y DE LA TOLERANCIA RELIGIOSA Y POLITICA EN LOS PAISES CIVILIZADOS (Madrid, 1914). However, the Black Legend in reality antedated by centuries the coining of the term. Relations between Spain and the Italian peninsula had generated among fourteenth-century Italians a wave of anti-Spanish criticism, which spread in the sixteenth century to northern Europe due principally to the conduct of Spanish soldiers throughout the continent. For a history of the development of such criticism see Sverker Arnoldsson, LA LEYENDA NEGRA. ESTUDIOS SOBRE SUS ORÍGENES (Goteborg, 1960) and Philip Wayne Powell, TREE OF HATE: PROPAGANDA AND PREJUDICES AFFECTING UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH THE HISPANIC WORLD (New York: Basic Books, 1971). Charles Gibson (ed.), THE BLACK LEGEND: ANTI-SPANISH ATTITUDES IN THE OLD WORLD AND THE NEW (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971) provides a collection of sixteenth through twentieth century Black Legend writings.

19. For an analysis of English and colonial Anglo-American attitudes toward Native Americans see Roy Harvey Pearce, THE SAVAGES OF AMERICA. A STUDY OF THE INDIAN AND THE IDEA OF CIVILIZATION (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1953). The classic study of English-Anglo attitudes toward people of color is Winthrop Jordan, WHITE OVER BLACK: AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD THE NEGRO, 1550-1812 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968). Although Jordan focuses on White-Black attitudinal relations, his book has serious implications for the history of Anglo-Chicano relations.

20. Américo Paredes presents a slight variation on this theme. In summarizing one of the elements of the Anglo-Texas anti-Mexican legend, Paredes writes that Anglo-Texans traditionally assumed that "The degeneracy of the Mexican is due to his mixed blood, though the elements in the mixture were inferior to begin with. He is descended from the Spaniard, a second-rate type of European, and from the equally substandard Indian of Mexico, who must not be confused with the noble savages of North America." See Américo Paredes, "WITH HIS PISTOL IN HIS HAND." A BORDER BALLAD AND ITS HERO (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1958), p. 16.

21. Robinson, WITH THE EARS OF STRANGERS, p. 26.

22. Carlos E. Cortés, "Revising the 'All-American Soul Course': A Bicultural Avenue to Educational Reform," in Alfredo Castañeda, Manuel Ramirez, III, Carlos E. Cortés, and Mario Barrera (eds.), MEXICAN AMERICANS AND EDUCATION CHANGE (Riverside: Mexican-American Studies Program, University of California, 1971), pp. 318-319.

23. Examples of such studies are Armando Rendon and Domingo Nick Reyes, "A Brown Position Paper" (Washington, D.C.: National Mexican American Anti-Defamation Committee, 1970) and Thomas M. Martinez, "Advertising and Racism: The Case of the Mexican-American," EL GRITO. A JOURNAL OF CONTEMPORARY MEXICAN AMERICAN THOUGHT, II, 4 (Summer, 1969), 3-13.

24. See Footnote 7.

25. Cortés, "Revising the 'All-American Soul Course,'" pp. 322-327.

26. For example, insights into the special nature of the U.S.-Mexican border region can be found in Oscar J. Martinez, "Interaction along the U.S.-Mexican Border: An Interpretive Essay" (paper delivered at the meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, March, 1976).

27. Richard L. Nostrand, "The Chicano Homeland" and "Chicano Homeland Subregions" (lectures delivered at Interpreting the Chicano Experience, a Mexican American Studies Program Colloquium, University of Oklahoma, Norman, March 26-27, 1976).

28. A discussion of these issues can be found in Castañeda, et al., MEXICAN AMERICANS AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGE (see footnote 22).

29. For example, see Thomas P. Carter, MEXICAN AMERICANS IN SCHOOL: A HISTORY OF EDUCATIONAL NEGLECT (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1970); Dolores Escobar Litsinger, THE CHALLENGE OF TEACHING MEXICAN-AMERICAN STUDENTS (New York: American Book Company, 1973); Henry Sioux Johnson and William J. Hernández M., EDUCATING THE MEXICAN AMERICAN (Valley Forge, Penn.: Judson Press, 1970); and Manuel Ramírez, III, and Alfredo Castañeda, CULTURAL DEMOCRACY, BICOGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION (New York: Academic Press, 1974).

30. For suggestions, see Carlos E. Cortés, "Concepts and Strategies for Teaching the Mexican-American Experience" (Austin, Texas: Dissemination Center for Bilingual Bicultural Education, 1974).

31. One of the best high school introductory textbooks is Rudy Acuña, A MEXICAN AMERICAN CHRONICLE (New York: American Book Company, 1971).

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